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VOL. I.

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NOTIONS ON HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.
NO. II.

In studying History generally, the division into periods and epochs, partakes something of the scientific order in the physical sciences; the ascertainment of the date of an epoch serves to fix the incidents in history in classes, so as to become acquainted with the date or nearly the date of any transaction sought, or of incidents contemporaneous or nearly so.

The distribution into ancient ages, middle ages, and modern, is loose and indefinite; as there is not an agreement on the precise time at which either ends or begins. Gatterer, a learned German, has given a very rational plan for arranging the epochs of History. For example, he, like Varro, divides what has been called the ancient and middle ages into three grand divisions, each according to his Chronology, of about 1800 years. The first he designates the *Adamitic Noatic* epocha, or from Adam to Nimrod: by which it will be seen his basis is the Hebrew traditions. The second, the *Assyro-Persian*, which terminates with Alexander of Macedon. The third, the *Macedonica-Roman*, which may be presumed to embrace Gibbon's epocha of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; and thence we presume would commence the modern history.

This distribution of Gatterer, depending wholly on the same sources as the English Universal History, necessarily excludes all that the progress of knowledge has revealed in India and Egypt, and in America too in recent times; and however ingenious the distribution, and faithfully performed, the detail of each detached History, there is deficiency in them all. Those who treat of History, upon Hindu, Chinese, Egyptian, Phenician, Carthaginian, bases, stand apart from the Chronology of the Hebrews, and set up different periods of greater or less duration; it is true that there is no agreement perfectly accordant among the religions of those nations; neither is there among the Hebrews, whose chronology varies with the Septuagint, the Samaritan and Hebrew texts or interpretations of the orthodox.

Indeed the developments of modern times begun in India, and made more manifest in Egypt, have produced a change in the orthodox notions of Chronology and History, almost as great as that of the alarm and conviction produced by Gallileo in relation to the revolutions of the Solar System.

Julius Africanus, the Scaligers, Usher, Newton, Blair, are no longer the oracles of Chronology. The great source of authority now in England, is the Rev. W. Hailes, the Episcopal Rector of *Killeshandra*, in Ireland, (*entre nous*—this name is literally the *Temple of the Moon*!) This learned gentleman has published four quarto volumes on the subject, from which we shall give an example of the state of historical certainty, after citing another example.

According to the texts of the Hebrew traditions—their epochs for the creation of the world are as follows:

The Septuagint or Greek text, makes from Adam to the Deluge, 2242 years.
The Samaritan, 1307 "
The Hebrew, 1656 "
Now Genesis says, Methuselah lived 969 years. We are

not discussing the credibility of such an age for man, but stating what is said by the authors or authorities of the system. He was 187 years old when Lamech was born; and Lamech, at the age of 182, begat Noah. Now Methuselah lived 600 years after the birth of Noah, and therefore must have been still living when Abraham was born—292 years after the deluge!

Again, according to the Septuagint, from Creation to Jesus Christ, was 5441 years: and this exceeds the Hebrew period, 1437 years. Divide this into two periods of 600 and 800 years, then according to the Septuagint the Deluge took place in the year from Creation 2262—in this case the birth of Christ must have been in the year of the world 3200; and it is very remarkable that this period of the Septuagint approaches very near to an agreement with certain epochas of the Hindus, Persians, Phenicians, Chinese, and Egyptians. But in adopting the Septuagint epocha, we have not there the oldest computation, independent of Asia or ancient Europe. The Alphonsine tables give 7000 years, and Riccioli 5634.

But let us see the catalogue given by the orthodox Chronologist of the day, the Rector of Killeshandra, or Temple of the Moon.

	B. C.
Alphonso of Castile—A. D. 1252,	6984
Onuphrius Pavinus,	6310
Arabian Chronology,	6174
Babylonian,	6158
Chinese,	6157
Diogenes Laertius—B. C. 222,	6138
Egyptian Chronology,	6128
Diodorus Siculus—B. C. 80,	6081
Suidas—A. D. 1090,	6000
Sulpitius, Ser.—A. D. 420,	5469
Manetho—B. C. 304,	5877
Pezron,	5872
Lactantius—A. D. 306,	5807

But it would occupy too much space to copy the whole of the 133 authorities cited in vol. 1, page 367, of Haile's Chronology, in which there is an entire disagreement progressively down to that given in the Universal History, which makes it only 5616 years; and Hailes says the list of disagreeing writers might be extended to 300.

In page 8, he states the authorities to the number of 15 for the epocha of the Deluge, and they differ from 3246 to 2104 years before our era; and it should be kept in mind by the judicious reader, that every account must be equally well entitled to consideration, seeing that as the narrations are human, there could be no witness to record the transactions, which must therefore remain among those things which can never be explained.

The reader will recollect that we state only the authorities who give the dates, without offering any judgment between them; our object being to induce those who read history, to think for themselves.

Besides the Hebrew books, all the sources of Egyptian History are derived from Herodotus, Plutarch, Eusebius, Ammianus's translation ascribed to Hermapion, and a treatise under the name of Hor-Apollo, whose age was not known till revealed by Champollion.

Herodotus says (book 2) that the Egyptian Priests

reckoned from Menis to Sethon 341 generations, making 11,340 years; from Pan to Amosis, 15,000 years; from thence to Hercules, 17,000 years.

These are the allegations of the authorities cited. It must be obvious that they are irreconcilable, and we have no foundation for saying which authority is to be believed where the disagreements are so numerous, and the credit equal.

It will be perhaps as amusing as it may be useful to give a rapid sketch of the chronological epochas and eras which are peculiar to different nations, ancient and modern; to understand which more clearly, it may be acceptable to give a concise view of the modes of measuring time, which belong to several theories.

Chronology is either historical or mathematical: the latter measures, the former distinguishes, what was done at some time. We have before observed that days and nights, and the phases of the moon, served as measures of time; and that in the measuring of sensible objects they used a simple measure called a *unit*, such as the foot, inch, &c.

But as the days vary in the duration of the sun's distance from one solstice to another, in various climates, different modes were adopted. The Hindus of some sects, like the Babylonians, Persians, Gauls, Athenians, and the Jews, commenced the day with sunset; as do the modern Greeks; and the Arabs and Italians began with sunrise; the ancient Umbrians began the day at noon; as the Astronomers do in our day. The Hindus have the great astronomical eras, or four ages, referred to before; and they have several other eras that are historical, such as the era of Salivanah, and of Bikrimajeet.

The Phenician era.

The Chaldean or Babylonian.

The Egyptian.

The Chinese.

The Jewish era.

The Olympiads, or Greek era.

The Cecropian era of Greece.

The Macedonian.

The era of the Seleucides.

The era of Philip, or the Lagides.

The eras of Rome—such as that of the city—of the consuls—the Republic—the Triumvirs.

The era of Diocletian

The era of the Hegyra.

The era of Jezdigir.

The Julian.

The Christian.

There are many others, characterized by some great name or memorable event; and the dates of their beginnings form the landmarks of Historical Chronology, or Chronological History.

These, however, require to be furnished like our roads with finger-posts, in order to render them concordant with each other. And this must be done by ascertaining how their years, months, days, and hours were constituted, as in fixing our finger-posts, we already know the quantity of a mile, furlong, or yard.

This is, as to form and manner, very easy and comprehensible, when the theory is understood; and we shall

offer some simple exemplifications in the course of these essays; but as our object is to invite curiosity previous to its gratification, we shall exhibit a few more of the discrepancies of history.

A very curious example of historical difficulty is in the Phenician history. Posterity has obtained only a few fragments of their *Ancient History*, properly so called; these fragments are preserved in Eusebius and Josephus, and given generally under the title of *Sanconiathe*. This history is reputed to have contained the annals of the known world for 10,000 years before it was written. It was excepted to by the early Christians and the Jews, because it did not notice a Deluge; and with the infatuation which belongs rather to human infirmities than to any system particularly, it was suppressed.

Samuel Bochart, one of the learned of greatest reputation in the 17th century, wrote a history of "Phaleg and Canaan," and publicly professed to correct the remaining fragments of *Sanconiathe*. The features of this case are remarkable—neither Bochart nor Eusebius, who preserved the fragments, understood one word of the Phenician language; and the fact is so palpable, that they speak of *Sanconiathe* as the name of a historian, and go so far as to tell who were his contemporaries; when in fact the words *San-coniathe* are Phenician, and signify literally *Ancient History*. Another striking absurdity in history, relates to *Canaan*; this is usually given by some as the special name of a country, and by others, as the name of one of the descendants of Noah. As we are bound by no rule in these essays, but the developement of false landmarks and the true in history, we shall pursue this digression.

Phenicia is that part of Asia which lies between Egypt and Syria. Its name is said to be derived from the abundance of the palm-tree, or phoenix. This people are the most celebrated for navigation, and to them has been ascribed the invention of letters, and it is certain that through them the Greeks obtained the sciences of Inner Asia. Ptolemy makes the river Elutheria its boundary; they planted colonies at Carthage, Hippo, Marseilles, Utica, and traded with Cornwall for tin. They were as memorable for their manufactures at home as for their navigation abroad, so that rich apparel or furniture was deemed Sidonian, from the Phenician capital of Sidon. Tyre, the daughter of Sidon, it is said, was built near 3000 years before our era.

But what of *Canaan*? This name has been confusedly applied to Phenicia; but the authors who use the word, appear not to know that it was a characteristic and not a proper name; like *Sanconiathe*, it is a Phenician word, signifying *the merchants*; so that as part of Phenicia was agricultural, and not mercantile, there were Phenicians who were not *Canaan*. Yet the historians appear not to have known a fact so proper and familiar; and a learned cyclopedist instructs his readers, that the Phenicians were descendants of the Canaanites, who were in fact the same people, having a national and a characteristic name.

These facts demonstrate how loose and hypothetical this part of ancient history was and continues to be.

Thirty-four of the most learned ancients and moderns disagree upon the epocha of the building of Rome; and the celebrated Niebuhr has proved them all in the wrong.

The events of the Hebrew books are equally disputed.

The Noatic flood, according to the Septuagint plan, was 3246 years before our era; by the Hebrew estimation 2104 B. C. differing 1142 years.

Bishop Usher was the orthodox Chronologist for more than two centuries; he attached the still remaining dates to the Hebrew books, but his chronology is at length found irreconcilable with the Indian, Chinese and Egyptian, all suggesting different times for the deluge. The Samaritan places it 2998 B. C. The Hindus had a flood (*prahya*) 3102 B. C.

So of the epocha of the Destruction of Troy, the highest date is 1270 B. C. the lowest 904 B. C.—a difference of

366 years. Varro makes the foundation of Rome 753 B. C. Sir Isaac Newton, 677 B. C.

The Vulgar era offers a pertinent occasion for illustration, as it is a phrase of frequent occurrence. It was not till 532, after Christ, that the Vulgar era or Christian era was invented by Dyonisius Exiguus, a native of Scythia, who lived in the reign of the Roman emperor Justinian. The motive arose out of religious contentions, and abhorrence of Diocletian, who had persecuted the Christians. The era of Diocletian was used among the Roman subjects, and he began his reign A. D. 284. The last and most sanguinary of the Christian persecutions was in the 19th year of his reign.

Dyonisius proposed to substitute the era of the Incarnation and Nativity in the 753d year of the foundation of Rome, according to Varro's system, yet he began it in 754, making the year recede from the date mostly adopted for the Nativity; but this era was not finally established till A. D. 1431, when Pope Eugenius IV. directed it to be adopted in the Public Registers.

Yet on this very point there are some hundreds of different opinions, too ample in their argument for a single essay.



PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM DUANE.

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AT HOME.

The interval which occurs between one number of this paper and another, is not favourable to a minute view of internal politics. The division in the Democracy of this State leaves the result uncertain—as to its consequences, for although we cannot believe the great body of the yeomanry can be reduced from their integrity, to abandon a faithful officer, without any cause of complaint; the ill blood and disaffection of society produced by the artifices which produced this division, must prove injurious to the character and principles of Pennsylvania, the very fact of about seven persons among whom are three who were federalists two years ago, must diminish confidence in the fidelity of men to each other. This schism presents a spectacle that would be only ludicrous, if it was not disreputable. The rallying words of the disaffected are—"War against office-holders."—and who make this war? Why men who have been for years seeking office, and others who have no other earthly object than to be what they affect to reprobate.

EUROPEAN INCIDENTS.

There are papers from London and Liverpool of the 18th and 19th of March, which do not contain any matter of a conclusive interest.

The question of the treaty of indemnity had not been decided in the Chamber of Deputies of France; but a significant change had taken place in the Ministry, the Duke Broglie who had resigned in consequence of the refusal of the chamber to decide the question, had been recalled to the ministry and accepted the station; no doubt satisfied that the treaty would be fulfilled.

There is an article under date Malta 7th February, which states that a despatch from Lord Ponsonby, Minister of England at Constantinople, had ordered all the ships of the navy to be put to sea—and that six ships of the line, 3 frigates, 1 cutter, and a steamboat had sailed. A conspiracy to assassinate the Sultan had been discovered at Constantinople, on the 25th Jan. had been detected, and twenty of the conspirators executed. It was feared the Sultan would call upon Russia for aid.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

POLITICAL ECONOMY—PART II.

CONTENTS.—Society a partnership—brief review of the progress of commercial policy—wool paid as taxes and contribution—wool sent abroad to be spun, woven, and dyed—early adventures on trade—restrictive policy dawned—commercial fairs on Sunday—prices of grain fixed by law—Henry VII. founder of common policy—blunder made advantage of by Colbert—expansion of commerce by the assumption of the lands and revenues of the church—the discussions of Political Economy—English writers.

It must be perceived even from the short excursions made into the origin and antiquity of that comprehensive field of human knowledge and universal interest; that as the regulation of the affairs of a commonwealth constitutes Political Economy; then it is essentially that kind of Providence in those who have charge of the policy, which looks to the good of all the partners. That as was very truly said by *Destut Tracy*, that commerce and society are convertible terms; and therefore the general laws of the commonwealth regulate the principles of commerce so as to promote the greatest good, and prevent evil wherever it may appear, and as far as the controlling power extends.

We had proposed, in concluding the preceding part of this lecture, to have gone into an enumeration of the writers on Political Economy, in England, but perceiving that a slight review of the progress of society in England, as that country with whose history and affairs we are most familiar, would better illustrate what the writers treated of, than a mere enumeration of names, we take this course.

It is not necessary to travel back to the Anglo-Saxon period, nor even to the conquest, to show the narrow and limited paths of the exchange of productions, when even taxes and rents were paid, in kind. Wheat, rye, barley, and beans, were exported at a very early period, but Richard I. ordered the ports to be closed to prevent the exportation of grain, and ordered five masters of vessels to be hanged, who exported without leave.

Wool had been taken away by foreigners in the Anglo-Saxon times, and increased in quantity and value continually for several centuries after the conquest. The ransom money of Richard I. when made prisoner in the Crusade, was paid in wool.

These facts show that the policy which preserves states and protects their people, was not at all understood when the staple of clothing was exported in the raw state, and the people had to re-purchase their own wool in the form of cloth, with the addition of ten to twenty prices for the improved article. In truth, the king was the only legislator, and the Political Economy of the state was directed only to the augmentation of the royal revenue, or the provision for his wars. The practice lately abolished in the Prussian confederation, prevailed in England; exclusive privileges to trade were sold by the crown, and it was necessary to pay a heavy fine in order to be authorized to export wheat, leather, cheese, &c. Nay, when foreign merchants resorted to England, they were usually limited to 40 days.

From the Norman conquest to the reign of Henry VII. there was no public economy in the affairs of England. Useful arts were subject to the caprice of ministers, or the avarice of the monarch. In the reign of Henry IV. who has the reputation of being a friend to commerce, foreigners coming to trade in England were considered as enemies; and it was enacted by Parliament—"that all foreign merchants should lay out their money in English merchandize, which they had received for what they had imported—that they should not carry out gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion, under penalty of forfeiture—that one merchant stranger should not sell goods imported into England to another merchant stranger—that when a merchant stranger arrived, a place of residence should be assigned him, and he should dwell no where else.

The great staple of wool was exported in the raw state, and it became the general practice to send the wool to Flanders, to be spun, dyed, and woven there, and returned in cloth; subsequently when weavers had found their way during the arbitrary dominion of the dukes and

courts of the Low Countries, the wool was spun in England, and woven, and sent abroad to be dyed; in a subsequent stage, this practice was prohibited, and dying established at home.

In 1413, a company of merchants of London, loaded a fleet of merchantmen, with wool and other merchandize, to trade with West Morocco; the Genoese seized the ships as interlopers, and Henry IV. granted letters of seizure and reprisal against Genoese ships, wherever they were to be found. Venice, and Florence, and other cities of Italy, were long before this flourishing in commerce.

The imports from those countries into England, augmented as the exports extended; but we find in 1483, the restrictive or protective policy had already greatly changed the course of commercial economy, by the interdiction or prohibition to be imported of numerous manufactured articles of iron, tin, leather, paper, cutlery, wool-cards, &c.

In 1200, the principal commerce was conducted by public fairs, wholly held on Sundays, but often continuing a week. London was the greatest mart in England. Exeter was only second to London.

Yet in the reign of Henry IV. 1399, the internal commerce was loaded with petty taxes and impositions, such as cartage, paiaage, passage, hostage, stallage, and others, the names of which are unintelligible now.

Among the evidences of false economy in those days, the prices of grain were fixed by law; by another law no merchant was allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity; and a corporation, called the company of the staple had the exclusive privilege of exporting certain commodities, such as wool-fells, leather, lead, tin; and it was made felony for any Englishman, Welshman, or Irishman, to export any of those commodities.

But true principles began to be developed, though slowly, in the 42d of Edward III. Laws for an uniformity of weights and measures were passed; and we find in the time of Richard II. the dawning of the since celebrated navigation laws, usually ascribed to Charles II. The laws required no ships but English ships to be freighted. Yet the whole importation of England did not amount to more than £450,000, modern money!

The wars of the Roses were adverse to social prosperity; their termination, and the accession of Henry VII. may be considered as the dawn of that state policy which rightly applied, is Political Economy. Henry sought an ally in the people, to counterpose the nobility, and extended to towns and cities, privileges for promoting industry. In one of his commissions, he unfolds his opinions,—he says, "The earth being the common mother of all mankind, what can be more pleasant or more humane, than to communicate a portion of all her productions to all her children, by commerce."

Henry, soon after his accession, found that the greatest part of the export trade was carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms, and that this practice prevented the increase of English ships and sailors; and laws were passed gradually to transfer that trade to home-built ships, and the navigation to native sailors.

America had been discovered, and a spirit of adventure was prevalent in England, and commerce expanded her wings; the progress of commerce augmented that of knowledge and good policy.

But then, and up to this day, the policy of the nations of Europe is directed to the augmentation of the revenues of the prince, and that principle of Aristotle which makes society a partnership, is no where regarded; as soon as commerce spread with the the discovery of America, more numerous objects found their way into commercial exchanges, and into countries before unsettled.

Holland had grown out of a dependant province of Spain into an independent state, and had been in the practice of buying up English undyed cloths, carrying them home, dying and dressing them, and selling to great

advantage, even in England. The Irish wool was found valuable in the manufacture of woollen cloths, and the exportation was forbidden by the English laws, at the same that a duty was laid on it when imported into England! These were among the blunders of a selfish and jealous policy, and they led to pernicious consequences in England. The Irish smuggled their wool to France, where the sagacious Colbert presided; and with this wool was commenced a successful rivalry of England, and in fact the supercession of England in the markets of the Levant.

The policy assumed a quite new character under Henry VIII; the churchmen had acquired so much of the best lands, and had become so insufferably arrogant, as to excite the envy of the nobles and the court; to come at the property, there was no avenue but through a reform of doctrine; and the rapacity of the church found a more powerful rapacity in the nobles and the court, who having the example of the clergy in the extravagance of their accumulations, became imitators not so scrupulous in the means, though still insulting the divinity whose name they used, while they violated every humane and divine law.

The change of property by the seizure of the goods of the clergy, opened new avenues for that spirit of enterprise which grew up under Henry VII. and which had become under Elizabeth the policy of the state; the principles of public economy were still mistaken; the reign of Elizabeth, by the statue of laborers, displayed the predominance of social slavery or vassalage, in the fixation of wages, and in the poor laws. The policy was by no means improved under Queen Anne; though in her reign, the questions involved in Political Economy came to be discussed and disputed; at first on partial objects, such as wool, leather, &c. The conflict of written opinions was opened. Other nations had long occupied the ground; the French followed the English; and then came the policy of colonies, and the limitation of colonial trade to the mother country, engrafted on the navigation laws, passed in the reign of Charles II.

This rapid but imperfect sketch is offered for two purposes—the first to show out of what elements time and experience had, by mere reckoning, resolved itself virtually into the very principles of Aristotle. The legislators did not recognize the *partnership* indeed, but so acted as to render the more diffusive principles subservient to the partial interests of the few; and this continued, and still continues to be the leading impulse of what is called Political Economy in Europe; and whether through design or accident, words have departed from their precise primitive signification, to express vague or contradictory ideas, and to involve at once good sense and justice, in perplexity.

The agitations of augmenting knowledge, conflicting with partial interests, gave rise to numerous public writings, even before the reign of Elizabeth, but it has been usual to place the *Observations on Trade*, of Sir Walter Raleigh, at the head of the English writers on Political Economy; and thus from year to year, down to our own days, the subject has been discussed in England, and we shall here subjoin an imperfect enumeration of writers, all of whom preceded Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; to some of which I have not had time to affix the dates.

- 1593 Sir Walter Raleigh.
- 1523 Misselden
- 1641 L. Roberts' *Treasure of Traffic*.
- 1664 Thomas Munn.
- 1664 Fortrey's *Interest of England*.
- 1639 Sir William Davenant.
- 1696 Sir Charles Davenant.
- Sir Nicholas Culpepper.
- 1670 Sir Josiah Child.
- 1694 Patterson.
- Sir Dudley North.
- 1700 John Locke.

- Harris.
- Lowndes.
- Barnard.
- Canillon.
- Sir William Petty.
- Hume.
- Meggias, (universal merchant.)
- Meredith.
- Postlethwaite.
- Gee.
- Sir Matthew Decker.
- Roger Coke.
- The Britannia Languens.
- Sir Robert Cotton.
- Rice Vaughan.
- 1754 Herbert.
- 1696 Asgill.
- Anderson.
- 1765 Sir James Stewart.

This list is very imperfect, yet all preceded Adam Smith, and though contradictory among themselves, really contain all that constitutes the subject of Smith's work. For example the *division of labor*, for which Smith has been extolled beyond Newton or Columbus, had been a century before exemplified by Sir Wm. Petty. Beccaria had long before started the maxim that all riches were derived from land and labor; in adopting this maxim, the deviation was lost sight of in the cause of the contention between Smith and the French economists, a sect founded by Dr. Quesnay, sustained by the elder Mirabeau and Dupont de Nemours, who held that land alone, was the source of riches and that labor added nothing to value.

In a subsequent stage, some notice will be taken of the economists of France, and an enumeration of the French writers who preceded Smith.

From the Boston Transcript.

THE IRISH.—There is no class of our population so much abused as the Irish. If there be a row, a riot, a mobocratic assemblage, a violent resistance of the laws, no one asks who are the offenders, because no one supposes that any body or bodies of men, single or congregated can do any mischief but Irishmen.—The argument is excellent, good, judicious, and discriminating. No prejudice is involved, political nor religious partizan nor sectarian. An Irishman is an Irishman and you cannot make more or less of him. But we Yankees are immaculate. We never do any wrong and we never did. We never hung a witch nor burnt a convent. We are exclusively liberal, exclusively benevolent, exclusively industrious, exclusively temperate, exclusively honest, exclusively patriotic, exclusively righteous, and exclusively the most self sufficient people on the face of the earth. We have a charming opinion of ourselves, and that is reason enough why we should be thought most highly of by others, But enough of sarcasm. Let us revert to our subject.

The Irish portion of our population (small as it is in Boston, and unimportant as it is in New England, where, beyond all question, the people are the most homogeneous and least adulterated by admixture of foreigners, of any in the Union,) has been much abused. They are not the idle, sloth-loving, improvident, and intemperate people, they are represented and too generally believed to be. They are, as a class, industrious and hard-working.

Let the unprejudiced look to our public improvements, the rapidly extending confines of our city, our new wharves, our bridges and rail roads. Who built them? Yankee enterprise furnished the capital but who supplied the labor, the indispensable muscular strength? Who dug down the hills and filled up the valleys? Who deepened the docks and extended the wharves? Who have done for us what we could not do for ourselves? Who laid the foundation of Central wharf? Irishmen. The Western Avenues? Irishmen. Commercial street? Irishmen. Commercial wharf? Irishmen. The Providence Rail-road? Irishmen. The Worcester Railroad? Irishmen. The Lowell Railroad? Irishmen. Shall we ask any further questions? Answer yes, and we will extend them miles and not an inch of the road shall be travelled over without encountering an Irishman.

How little do they know of the Irish, who call them improvident. We speak of them as a class. One fact is worth a thousand theories. The amount deposited at the Saving Bank is nearly two millions of dollars. One would suppose that the largest portion of this capital belonged to the industrious penny saving Yankee. Not so. The "improvident" Irish own five eighths of it. We are not blind to the faults of the Irish—nor do we intend to laud them beyond their merits—nor at the expense of our own countrymen; but there is an unkind and unjustifiable prejudice against them entertained by very many citizens of which we are ashamed, and ask pardon if we have committed an offence in saying a good word for the children of the Emerald Island.

MEMORIAL

On the subject of Stephen Girard's Legacy to the Orphans of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Orleans,

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met:

The memorial of the subscriber respectfully represents—

That a very little reflection on the circumstances of the *Poor Orphans*, in this, and all countries, will convince every man of sound mind or humane feelings, that they are, of all the unfortunate classes of society, the very one that is most helpless, friendless, and forlorn, and who, themselves, have had no agency in producing this result. They are a class that from the nature of things, are incapable of doing aught for themselves; though their wants are many, their means and friends have been few, and the former sometimes not well managed.

It is a case of the latter kind, that on this occasion, brings me before you, as a Memorialist, and I earnestly pray the legislature, to bear with me a short time, while I lay before the Representatives of the People, a matter interesting to the honor of the State, to humanity and to justice.

In this matter your Memorialist has no personal interest, and believes that he is solely influenced by a desire to see the principles of justice and humanity strictly adhered to, in all matters confided to the integrity and honor of Pennsylvania; and to the end, that the rights of *Poor Orphans* may not be entangled in party feelings, or subjects foreign to them, through the motives that might be ascribed to particular men, where there are many subscribers; your Memorialist has assumed the individual responsibility of bringing the subject before the Representatives of the People of Pennsylvania, and hopes that this paper will be received as the Memorial of *POOR ORPHANS*.

The late Stephen Girard, Merchant and Mariner of Philadelphia, by his last Will appropriated a very large amount of money, to the maintenance and education of *Poor Orphan Children*; so large a sum, that, judging from his own language, he considered more than probably would be required for the support of all the *Poor Orphans* of Pennsylvania; for, in his Will there is a proviso, that in the event, there are not as many *Poor Orphans* in Pennsylvania as require all the means he appropriated to this purpose, the surplus shall be employed in supporting the *Poor Orphans* of the Cities of New York and New Orleans. Mr. Girard would not have made such a proviso, if he had supposed that the mighty means were to fall short of maintaining the *Orphans* of Pennsylvania, if they were duly applied to the object. For him to suspect they were insufficient, and to make such a proviso, would lead to the inference that he purposely put an insult on two cities which it is evident, by his language, he recollected with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction.

The citizens of Philadelphia in this matter, are left not the *Airs* of Stephen Girard, but his *Trustees*, and judging from what these citizens have done, and are doing, and what it appears they purpose to do, your Memorialist is impressed with the belief that they, as *Trustees*, have not understood the injunctions of the Testator, or if they have understood, have not regarded them.—To your Memorialist it appears that Stephen Girard distinctly expressed his desire and his object, and these were: That certain means by him specified, should be employed in maintaining, educating, and giving trades to *Poor Orphans*; and towards the accomplishing of this object, good and substantial buildings should be erected for the accommodation of these *Poor Orphans*. In positive terms he forbids useless ornament, and enjoins neatness, but avoiding all unnecessary expense.

From the language of the Will, the style of building that Mr. Girard directs, can be understood by any person who has a claim to common sense. This is manifest from what he has said on the subject; and it is still more evident, from the fact, that the *Poor Orphans* are to be indentured to the College before they can be admitted to its benefits, and are by the *Trustees* to be apprenticed to tradesmen, with whom they are to learn trades.—One part of the Will explains another, in the simplest and most satisfactory manner. It is evident that his purpose was to maintain and educate *Poor Orphans*, and then to have them bred tradesmen, &c.

He tells his *Trustees* that he does not recommend the teaching of Latin and Greek, although he does not forbid it. What he has himself said, on the subject of the buildings, the notice he takes himself of the classics, and the apprenticing of the *Orphans* to learn trades, all must satisfy any rational man that Stephen Girard has not authorized the costly style of building, and expenditure of money, that the *Trustees* have adopted.

In place of respecting the conditions specified in Mr. Girard's Will, the citizens of Philadelphia appear, from the time that this great duty devolved on them, to have neglected their obligations, for in the place of carrying out the Testator's directions in regard to building the house he ordered, they advertised for plans, and

unnecessarily spent what was intended for maintaining *Poor Orphans*, on plans and pictures, which had no resemblance to the directions and object of Stephen Girard. From this first departure, they have pursued one uninterrupted course of disregard to the object he had in view, to wit: The maintenance and education of the *Poor Orphans* of Pennsylvania, the Cities of New York, and New Orleans.

Judging from the house that these *Trustees* have begun, and are now building, the years they have been employed on it, the progress made, and the money expended, it is reasonable to suppose that the buildings requisite to complete the whole, in conformity to what is begun, will require twelve or fifteen years of time, and fifteen hundred thousand dollars of money to finish them. The inevitable consequences of this, are, that the money Stephen Girard intended to be employed in maintaining the *Poor Orphans* of Pennsylvania and the Cities of New York and New Orleans, is to be squandered in ostentatious, useless architecture, by which a perpetual succession of the *Poor Orphans* of New Orleans, New York, and finally some of those belonging to Pennsylvania, are to be sacrificed forever, and this fearful outrage on these helpless creatures, is committed to gratify vanity and bad passions. The act must entail disgrace on the citizens of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.

It is evident that the means to make these improper buildings are taken first from the *Poor Orphans* of the City of New Orleans, then of New York, and, lastly, some of your own must be sacrificed.

The present course has its foundation in a violation of justice, and its results must be bad. No man who pretends to the possession of common sense, can suppose that palaces are proper places for rearing and educating *Poor Orphans*, or any youths who are to fill the business stations of life, and earn their bread in this or any other country. Let us ask ourselves what the feelings of a youth are likely to be, on his leaving the Patrician Palace and going to the bench, the plough, the anvil, the forge, &c., and, looking round the shop, thinks of the Palace; the lad must feel miserable, and turn with disgust from all around him.

Buildings such as the *Trustees* are now making with the *poor orphans'* money, when finished, will prove palaces, and suited for preparing the children of the rich for the profession of the law, medicine, or divinity, and increasing the classes that are sure to superabound in all wealthy communities, and will be supplied by the rich, whose means should be spent in educating their own children, and not saved by the legacy of Stephen Girard, or any one else; such palaces are not suitable for the rearing of industrious manly tradesmen.

It is not my purpose, for it is not necessary, to enter into the details and minutiae of Mr. Girard's will, it is a paper not difficult to understand; the benevolent purpose of the testator could soon be made to operate beneficially on the *Poor Orphans* designated by Mr. Girard. All that is wanting is simply to explain the will by itself and common sense, carefully avoiding the sophistry and costly prevarications of professional law; for it has been known to supersede legislative intention.

Mr. Girard's object was not building houses. His object was the maintenance and education of *Poor Orphans*: the house-building is merely a means required to accomplish the end.

Considering the situation that the *Trustees* have brought things to, the vast waste of money and loss of time, and the prospect before us, it is evident that generations of *Poor Orphans* are to lose their interest in this grand legacy, while the funds required to build the splendid palaces are so to diminish the general means, that the reversion left to New Orleans and New York is to be entirely swallowed up. If this course is not arrested by the interposition of the State, Pennsylvania will become identified with the *Trustees*, and share the scorn of the world and the curses of the two defrauded cities. Harsh as these terms may appear in this memorial, and at this time, they are what will be employed against us whenever there appears a *Poor Orphan* in one or other of those cities, or a stranger looks at the majestic pile of buildings, and recollects the fund from which their cost was paid.

It is only necessary for a Pennsylvanian or citizen of Philadelphia to change the position of the parties to acquire a just view of the affair; let him suppose that Stephen Girard had placed the trusteeship in the citizens of New York or New Orleans.

Let us return from this gloomy picture and elevate our minds by contemplating what may be done by an efficient interposition of the State authority, and the funds applied to their destined end. Such was the great amount of means left by Stephen Girard, that, if honestly and economically employed, shunning unnecessary expense, and guarding against useless fees and salaries, it is reasonable to suppose there would have been enough to take care of all Pennsylvania *Poor Orphans*, and wherewith to educate a

number from New York and New Orleans. The happy effects that would have resulted to New Orleans, New York, and Pennsylvania, from a current supply of well educated young tradesmen, going to New Orleans and New York, with the sober and industrious habits that characterize Pennsylvania tradesmen, would, in time, have produced a moral effect beneficial to all parties, and most honorable to Pennsylvania.

It is impossible to estimate the happy consequences that would result from the kind feelings such an intercourse would produce between New Orleans and New York (two of the most important cities in America) and Pennsylvania.

One of the political consequences to the country, would be to raise up, in the persons of *Poor Orphans*, citizens whose good sense and disciplined minds would exercise great influence in accustoming the citizens to think of the qualifications of men before they voted for them to be officers; these *Poor Orphans* would become conservators of peace, order, and justice at our elections; an influence that is yearly becoming more and more wanted. Men, so educated, are equally important to those who are rich as those who are poor. The number of well informed men, with disciplined minds and correct morals, should, by every means, be increased, until this would be the entire character of our electors.

Your memorialist does not presume to determine what course your honorable bodies should pursue in this important matter; but, as a citizen interested in the honor of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, and as feeling for the friendless, helpless *Poor Orphans*, I have deemed it my duty thus to call your attention to the manner in which the *Trustees* are executing their duties towards the *Poor Orphans* of New Orleans, New York, and Pennsylvania; and, also, to lay before the world my protest against their conduct in spending what has been left for the education and maintenance of *Poor Orphans*, on building palaces, paying useless fees and improper salaries, &c., &c., whereby the integrity of Philadelphia, and, through the conduct of that City the character of the State is compromised. Your memorialist most respectfully prays that your honorable bodies will take the matter into serious consideration, and make a thorough investigation into the matter by such means as shall appear best calculated to preserve the good character of this State, and protect the interests of the feeble and helpless *Poor Orphans*.

JAMES RONALDSON.

PHILADELPHIA, February 19, 1835.

CIRCULAR TO ALL COLLECTING AND RECEIVING OFFICERS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, }
April 6th, 1835. }

It is understood, that the instructions from this Department to receive for the public dues only such State Bank notes as the Deposit Banks are willing to credit it par, have been construed to authorize the receipt of such notes of any denomination. The undersigned considers it highly beneficial to the currency of the country and the safety of the banking agents employed in keeping the public revenue, that the more general use of specie for the small and ordinary transactions of society should be encouraged; and at the disuse of Bank notes of a low denomination is believed to be the surest method to effect that object, and as the acts of Congress do not expressly require the receipt of any such notes, if less in amount than five dollars, you are hereby directed, after the 30th day of September next, not to receive in payment of any public dues Bank notes of any denomination less than five dollars.

You are also apprised, that it is in contemplation by this Department after the 3d of March, 1836, [should Congress in the mean time make no new provision on the subject,] to exercise the discretionary powers, which it is supposed will then belong to it, over the receipt of paper money of any denomination for the public revenue, and to extend the restriction on the receipt of Bank notes for it, to all of a less denomination than ten dollars. For the greater security of the banking institutions employed by the Treasury, and for the improvement of the currency by the fuller restoration of that specie circulation for common purposes, which seems to have been contemplated by the Constitution, it is intended then to make arrangements, if practicable, to discontinue the use of any Bank as a fiscal agent, which shall thereafter continue to issue notes of a less denomination than five dollars, and which shall, after some subsequent period, to be then designated, continue to issue notes of a less denomination than ten dollars.

The course proposed to be pursued hereafter on this subject by the Treasury, is now indicated with a view to ensure suitable notice of the changes contemplated.

LEVI WOODBURY,
Secretary of the Treasury.

From the Globe.

THE BANK'S ARRANGEMENT.

We have been permitted to examine the Bank Statement of the first of this month. By this, it appears that the expansion continued throughout the last month, having amounted within that month, to \$2,285,812, making altogether, during the five months, between the 1st of November, 1834, and 1st of April, 1835, an expansion of its business of \$14,346,001!!

To give a complete view of the misconduct and mismanagement of this institution, and thereby enable the public to judge of the evils which it has been the cause of inflicting upon the community, we must go back to the period of its commencing business under its charter, and bringing to notice the most prominent changes which have since taken place in its business, either by contracting or expanding, together with the causes which induced the adoption of those measures.

The Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816. It commenced business with the year 1817. At that time it was directed and controlled by a set of men, who sought only the advancement of their individual interests, by the adoption of such measures as would lead to advance the price of the stock in the market, in which a large majority of them were deeply interested.

With such rapidity were the loans made by the Bank, and its money lent out, that on the 1st of March, 1818, only fourteen months after it had commenced operations, the debts due to it amounted to forty-one millions, and this, too, when the country was surcharged with a circulating medium of bank paper.

The extravagant, if not wild course, thus pursued by the managers of the Bank, while it advanced the value of the stock in market to one hundred and fifty dollars per share, served but to lead to the utter ruin of nearly every one of those who were then concerned in its management. As was predicted by experienced and prudent men, a reaction suddenly followed this enormous effort of the Bank. On the 1st of April, 1819, its loans were reduced to thirty-three millions, and with this reduction of seven millions, within the preceding thirteen months, the country was in a state of unexampled distress from one extremity to the other. The first who suffered were those who had been most instrumental in causing the mischief. The President and Cashier, at that time, of the Bank, W. Jones, and Jona. Smith, were nearly or quite ruined; many of those who then were, or who had previously been Directors, were entirely so; among whom can be named, D. A. Smith, George Williams, J. W. McCulloch, and J. A. Buchanan; most of whom, but a few years before, were considered men of large fortunes, who, in their fall, carried many others with them. This was not all: the Bank itself was brought to the brink of destruction. The talents of that eminent and skilful financier, Langdon Cheves, aided with the whole power of the Treasury, could for a time hardly sustain it.

The severe course of measures which the Bank was obliged, during its curtailments, to adopt, for the purpose of protecting itself, drove its customers to other institutions; so that, when it had recovered itself and had money to lend, it could find no customers to borrow. Its loans on the 1st of October, 1821, to individuals, were reduced to twenty-six millions of dollars. For the purpose of investing its idle money, it had been obliged to purchase funded debt, at a high premium, in the month of April previous.

On the 1st of January, 1823, the present incumbent was placed at the head of the Bank. From that time to the last of the year 1830, the institution was conducted so steadily and regularly that but two shocks to commerce were experienced during that period, and those of short continuance, in the years 1825 and 1823.

After that period there was a continued expansion up to May, 1832. The loans on the 1st of December, 1830, amounted to \$42,402,304; and on the 1st of May, 1832, to \$73,428,070 making an increase in the loans of the Bank, in these seventeen months of \$28,025,766. This was a maximum.

The Bank, in January, 1832, while it was thus increasing its loans, came into Congress for a renewal of its charter, alleging that if it did not obtain a renewal, it must immediately begin preparation for winding up its concerns, by collecting in its debts. A bill rechartering it passed both houses of Congress. It was sent to the President, and by him returned with his veto on the 10th of July.

The Presidential election followed in November of that year. The Bank immediately commenced a system of rapid curtailment. In December it reached its minimum for that year. The loans had been reduced from the amount in May, to \$61,571,626, in December, making a curtailment in seven months of \$8,865,445.

The Presidential election was now decided. General Jackson had been re-elected. The Bank had been defeated. It now began to expand again, notwithstanding its previous declarations, that it must prepare for winding up, in case it could not obtain a

renewal of its charter; which, the re-election of General Jackson rendered nearly certain it could not be for four years thereafter, when its corporate existence would have expired.

On the 1st of August, 1833, it had extended its loans to \$64,160,349, being an increase from the December previous of \$2,588,724.

At this period the Bank commenced the work of curtailment again, in consequence of the appointment of an agent to ascertain whether the State Banks in the large cities would undertake the collection and disbursement of the public revenue. This was continued until the 1st of October; during which two months, the Bank reduced its loans to the sum of \$60,094,202. Making a reduction of \$4,065,147. During the same period it collected, public revenue, which it then held in cash in its vaults, to the amount of \$2,330,903.

On the first of October, the State Banks in the large cities were employed to collect the revenue. At this period the public money in the Bank of the United States amounted to \$9,868,434, towards the payment of which it had, by anticipation, curtailed its loans and kept on hand of the collections, on account of the revenue, the abovementioned two sums, making together \$5,397,050. Yet, after this period, the Bank continued its curtailments, between which, and the 1st of December, about the time of the meeting of Congress, it called in, in these two months, \$5,641,008 more; reducing its line of discounts to \$54,453,104, and having provided, by reducing its loans, and holding in hand the revenue collected, \$12,038,148, to meet the payment of \$9,868,434; of which sum \$2,453,648 remained in the Bank on the 1st of the present month.

The 1st of December, 1833, opened the ever-memorable panic session of Congress. It curtailed, between the 1st of December, 1833, and the 1st of July, 1834, only \$3,428,132; the effect of which, aided as it was by the efforts of its friends in and out of Congress, was far more injurious to the country than ten millions curtailed previous to the assembling of Congress.

We must now stop to examine the reasons assigned by the Bank for this course of conduct. Of the sincerity in which they were given, the public can judge, by observing the time when they were made, and the subsequent conduct of the Bank.

In a report of the committee of the Bank on the offices, made to the Board, and by it adopted on the 5th March 1834, we find the following:

"But they (the Committee) cannot forbear to express their deliberate conviction, that these reductions are much less than are required for its security during the unsettled state of the currency, and that it has now become the duty of the Bank, gently, but steadily to diminish the amount of claims upon it, by continuing to lessen its business."

On the 8th of April the same committee made another report to the Board, which was printed on the motion of John Sergeant, from which we extract the following:

"On the 1st of October, 1833, the violation of the charter of the Bank put an end to all that responsibility. On that day, the Bank of the United States, as a component part of the financial system established by Congress, in which the public revenue was to sustain the public currency, ceased to exist. It became the property of its stockholders—and whether that property should continue to be lent, or should be recalled from the borrowers in greater or less proportions, was a matter for them, and for them alone, to decide. If, therefore, in the effort to sustain its credit, the directors of the Bank had reduced its loans more rapidly than consisted with public convenience, the reproach should be on the aggressors who had made this act of self-defence necessary."

"The violation of the laws committed by the Executive, is of itself calculated, by destroying confidence, and breaking down the established currency, to afflict and convulse the country. In such a crisis the Bank, unwilling to aggravate these evils, has forborne to press its claims, but constantly endeavored to mitigate the severity of the injuries inflicted on the community. It will still continue to do so, whenever it can be done with safety. But that safety is its first duty, and must be its chief care."

Again: On the first of May there appeared in the National Gazette an article bearing an official bank stamp, containing the following:

"The charter has yet twenty-two months to run, so that in order to close its concerns at the end of that term, the reduction must be made at the rate of two millions and a half every month."

And again: On the 19th of July a Committee of the Merchants of New York addressed a letter to Mr. Biddle, requesting that the Bank would extend its loans some five or ten millions of dollars.

To this letter Mr. Biddle replied, and among other things, said: "The adjournment of Congress without adopting any measures, either of redress to the Bank, or relief to the community, places both the Bank and the community in a new relation with

each other, and imposes upon the diminished ability of the Bank an extraordinary demand for assistance." "The more prudent course of expansion, if it be necessary, would be to increase the loans cautiously at those points which most require relief. To such a policy the board are well disposed, and they will proceed to the consideration of your views with every disposition to concur in them so far as the state of the institution and the principles on which they think it prudent to conduct its affairs, will permit."

Now mark the declarations in these various Bank proceedings, Bank article, and letter of the President of the Bank:

"It is the duty of the Bank to lessen the claims upon it by continuing to lessen its business."

"It (the Bank) became the property of the stockholders—and whether that property should continue to be lent, or should be recalled from the borrowers in greater or less proportions, was a matter for them and them alone to decide."

At the very time that the Bank was holding forth this haughty, arrogant language, the Government was without a single Director to represent the interest of the nation, who owns one-fifth of the stock of the Bank! To the Bank language again:

"To be able to wind up its business during the continuance of its charter; it must curtail at the rate of two millions and a half a month."

"The Bank has not been redressed—the community has not been relieved by Congress. A new relation has been established which imposes upon the diminished ability an extraordinary demand for assistance."

"The prudent course for the Bank will be to increase the loans at those points which most require relief. To such a course the Board is well disposed, so far as the state of the institution and the principles in which they think it prudent to conduct its affairs will permit."

What mockery! Could the Bank managers have supposed the People of the country are fools, thus to attempt by such flimsy means to impose upon them.

But let us see what was the course which the Bank pursued after these various and contradictory declarations. On the first of July, the loans were \$51,024,972, from which time to the 1st of November, it went on curtailing constantly, when they were reduced to \$45,754,201; making a reduction during those four months of \$5,270,771. Here the loans came to their minimum again. The whole curtailments from the 1st of August, 1833, to the 1st of November, 1834, a period of fifteen months, having amounted to \$18,406,148!!!

What other commercial country under the light of the sun, could have withstood the shocks which such repeated expansions and contractions were calculated inevitably to lead to?

History gives evidence of greater commercial nations than ours having been convulsed from the centre to the borders, by contractions of the circulating medium to an extent much inferior to those which we have described.

And what was the course of measures pursued by the Bank after the first of November last? Did it go on curtailing its business, in anticipation of the expiration of its charter,—No. It began a most extraordinary, uncalled-for, and unnecessary expansion of its business, which it has continued ever since, notwithstanding its former and repeated protestations, during the panic season, that it must go on "gently" and "steadily" to "lessen its business," at the rate of "two millions and a half every month," until the end of the charter.

On the 1st of November last, the total investments of the Bank amounted to \$45,754,201; and on the 1st of April, (inst.) they amounted to \$60,100,216; making an expansion of its loans within that period of five months, of \$14,346,015. The circulation of the Bank during this period, was also increased in proportion. On the 1st of November, it was \$15,961,731, and on the 1st of April, \$20,544,736; being an increase of notes put in circulation in this short space, of \$4,576,001.

This is not all. The rapidity with which the Bank has extended its operations, are worthy of remark, as well as the effect produced by them.

On the 1st of November last, the State Banks were indebted to the Bank of the United States an aggregate balance of one million six hundred thousand dollars. On the 1st of April, the Bank of the United States stood indebted to the State Banks a balance of more than four millions of dollars; of which, there was due to the Banks in the following cities, viz:

Charleston, a balance of	\$755,000
Savannah, " "	463,000
Mobile, " "	568,000
New York, " "	1,014,000
Philadelphia, " "	1,104,000
	\$4,291,000

And what has been the effect of this sudden and great enlargement of its business by the Bank of the United States? The daily operations of the boards of brokers in New York and Philadelphia, furnish the reply. There has been for some time past, a scene of stock-jobbing and gambling going on, falling but little behind the ruinous speculations in the scrip of joint stock companies in London in 1824-5.

This lamentable state, so demoralizing and ruinous to thousands, has been introduced, encouraged, and sustained by the Bank. The State Banks have gone steadily on in their business. The Bank of the United States alone has expanded. This is proved by the change of its condition in its intercourse with the State Banks, amounting to nearly *six millions of dollars* in five months. It has, during that period, *distanced* them. It may now be justly styled **THE PRINCE OF GAMBLERS**.

What, it may properly be asked, has led to this course of expansion of its business by the Bank, only a few moments before the expiration of its charter? It is owing to the revived hope of yet obtaining a renewal of its charter.

This renewed hope was presented in November last. Prior to that period, it had gone steadily on in the work of curtailment. After that it began to expand.

The causes which led to the indulgence of these hopes and the change in the course of its business, we will now proceed to relate.

In the month of November, shortly before the meeting of Congress, Judge White and family visited Philadelphia. They staid at the house of Mr. Jaudon, the Cashier of the Bank, the son-in-law of Judge White. Speaker Bell repaired to Philadelphia at the same time—the gentleman identified by public opinion as the member of Congress from Tennessee who is represented in Mr. Tyler's report as being indebted at the Nashville Branch at one time in 1832, to the amount of \$53,180!—a thousand dollars beyond the famous *facility* of Noah and Webb—the same, who is reported to have obtained from the Bank of the United States in the spring of 1834, during the height of the panic, a loan of *forty thousand dollars*, and have drawn with him into this vortex, three or four members of the Tennessee delegation.

It was at this time, we strongly suspect, that matters were arranged for future operations. Each had assigned to him the part he was to act. Judge White, was, at the appointed time, to consent to stand a candidate for the Presidency. Speaker Bell was to make the necessary movements behind the curtain, to enable the Judge to announce his willingness to be a candidate.

Having effected thus much, the Bank looked upon its chance of obtaining a recharter much improved. If Judge White should be elected, the Bank expects to induce him to sign a charter or connive at its adoption by two-thirds of Congress, through the same influence which induced him, in the hope of office, to abandon his principles, and the party connexions through which he had hitherto firmly sustained them. If he shall not be elected, which is the real calculation of the coalition, the Bank looks for its objects and interests to be better served, by a division of the Democratic party in preventing an election of President by the People, and carrying it into the House of Representatives, where it feels sure of securing its *favorite candidate*.

It is on one of these two events that it rests its hopes of prolonged existence. It knows well, that it can never obtain a recharter while General Jackson, or any one administering the Government upon his principles, is at the head of it.

The Bank, then, under the prospects held out by the alliance of Judge White and Speaker Bell with Messrs. Webster, Calhoun, and Clay, has already taken the field. When the charter has less than eleven months to continue, it is enlarging its business, and increasing its circulation with unprecedented celerity. This is a part of the plan of operations. We are to have another panic, and an attempt to accomplish the prediction of its advocate, Mr. Webster, at the close of the late session. He then said, in relation to the ability of the local banks to perform the duties of fiscal agents of the Government—

"He would not enter into an argument on that subject, but he desired to state it as his conviction, that this experiment of receiving and disbursing the revenues, was an experiment, which, so far from being practicable, has not yet even been put to the trial, nor could it be tried for some time to come. *The trial, therefore, has not come, and will not come, till this paper of the Bank of the United States is withdrawn from circulation THEN WILL COME THE EXPERIMENT!!*"

The object of the Bank, in thus extending, is, to follop it up by a sudden contraction, at a time which will suit its political purposes. It will endeavor to produce distress and ruin, that the "experiment" may then be tested.

Upon the State Banks has now devolved the duty of preserving a sound currency. The object of the Bank is to derange it. Let the State Banks go on regularly, pursue a steady course,

and they may defy, and will defeat the efforts of the leviathan, and preserve the country from that desolation and ruin which it would inflict upon it, to secure it a renewed existence.

We are now about to lay before the American people an astounding fact in regard to the present course of this corrupt, reckless, and lawless institution, which furnishes irrefutable proof of its determination.

THE BANK IS NOW MAKING LOANS UPON STOCK SECURITY, PAYABLE IN THREE YEARS, AT FIVE PER CENT PER ANNUM; INTEREST PAYABLE SEMI-ANNUALLY.

This, too, when the charter has less than eleven months to run, which declares that, "notwithstanding the expiration of the term for which the said corporation is chartered, it shall be lawful to use the corporate name, style, and capacity, for the purpose of suits for the final settlement and liquidation of the affairs and accounts of the corporation, and for the sale and disposition of their estate, real, personal, and mixed; BUT NOT FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER WHATSOEVER, nor for a period exceeding two years after the expiration of the said term of corporation.

In an article which appeared in the New York Gazette of Saturday last, carrying with it the strongest evidence of coming from the pen of Mr. Biddle, the course which the Bank is pursuing and intends to pursue, in violation of its charter, is fully set forth in the following, which we extract from it:

"The question now is, what course should the Bank adopt during the remainder of its term, which would be the most beneficial to the country at large? On the 4th of March, 1838, it ceases. Some think it should begin to wind up now; others think **they** can make better use of the means of the Bank, by borrowing it, and paying back before that period, than for the Bank to hoard up its means. For ourselves, we should say, it is rather presumptuous in any class of individuals to say to this much larger class, who may desire to borrow money, that to lend them would be doing them an injury, because they would be obliged to repay before 1838.

"The question, we think, belongs to the lender and the borrower; one is equally necessary to the other, and so long as *good laws and good faith* are observed, both these classes are benefited."

From this it is evident that Mr. Biddle is determined to continue the *lending business* down to 1838, although the last two years are allowed solely for the *collecting business* and "not for any other purpose." He apprehends, however, that the course he has marked out is illegal, and he intends to make the loans, and rely upon "good laws," if he can get them—if not, on the "good faith" of the borrowers, to return the money borrowed to the Bank. But his best trust is in making his loans on pledges of stock, through which he will hold the security for his illegal transactions in his own hands, without recourse to courts or the laws.

The Bank does not intend to divide a dollar of its capital, until after the expiration of the two years allowed to it by its charter to wind up its business. It will enter the next Presidential contest with its power undiminished.

We admonish the Democracy of the nation, that the great battle against this institution, and for the preservation of the liberties of the country from Bank rule, has yet to be fought. The year 1836 is to decide whether we are to become its vassals or preserve our freedom.

In such a conflict, as assuredly will then take place, the safety of the great Democratic party exists only in union. The policy of their opponents is, to *divide and conquer*.

STATEMENT

Of the amount of Gold remaining at the Mint uncoined on the 28th of February, 1835, with the sums deposited for coinage within the month of March, together with the amount of Gold coinage executed within the same period:

Remaining uncoined at the Mint, Feb. 28th, 1835.	\$230,240 00
Deposited for coinage within the month of March, viz.	
Uncoined bullion,	\$247,870
Coins of the United States, former standard,	32,050
Foreign coins,	8,250
	<hr/> 288,170 00
	568,650 00
Amount coined within the month of March,	133,000 00
Remaining at the mint uncoined,	<hr/> \$445,660 00

MINT OF THE UNITED STATES, }
March 31st, 1835. }

SAMUEL MOORE, Director.

EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE.

SPEECH OF MR. BENTON, OF MISSOURI,

IN REPLY TO MR. CALHOUN'S REPORT.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 9, 1835.

(CONCLUDED.)

Mr. B. then took up the Treasury Report of Mr. Secretary Woodbury, communicated at the commencement of the present session of Congress, and containing the estimates required by law of the expected income and expenditure for the present year, and also for the year 1836. At pages four and five are the estimates for the present year; the income estimated at \$20,000,000; the expenditures at \$19,613,540; being a difference of only some three hundred thousand dollars between the income and the outlay; and such is the chance for nine millions taken out, and two left in, the first year of the distribution. At pages 10, 14, 16, the revenue for 1836 is computed, and after going over all the heads of expense on which diminutions will probably be made, he computes the income and outlay of the year at about equal, or probably a little surplus to the amount of one million. These are the estimates, said Mr. B., formed upon data, and coming from an officer making reports upon his responsibility, and for the legislative guidance of Congress; and to which we are bound to give credence until they are shown to be incorrect. Here then are the two first years of the eight disposed of, and nothing found in them to divide; the two last years of the term could be despatched even more quickly, said Mr. B., for every body that understands the compromise act of March, 1833, must know that in the two last years of the operation of that act, there would be an actual deficit in the Treasury. Look at the terms of the act! It proceeds by slow and insensible degrees, making slight deductions once in two years, until the years 1841 and 1842, when it ceases crawling, and commences jumping, and leaps down, at two jumps, to twenty per centum on the value of the articles which pay duty, which articles are less than one-half of our importation. Twenty per cent. upon the amount of goods which will then pay duty, will produce but little, say twelve or thirteen millions, upon the basis of sixty or seventy millions of dutiable articles imported then, which only amount to forty-seven millions now. Then there will be no surplus at all for one-half the period of eight years, the first two, and the last two. In the middle period of four years there will probably be a surplus of two or three millions; but Mr. B. took issue upon all the allegations with respect to it; as that there was no way to reduce the revenue without disturbing the compromise act of March, 1833; that there was no object of general utility to which it could be applied; and that distribution was the only way to get rid of it.

Equally delusive and profoundly erroneous was the gentleman's idea of the surplus which could be taken out of the appropriations. True that operation could be performed once, and but once. The run of our Treasury payments show that about one quarter of the year's expenditure are not paid within the year but the first quarter of the next year, and thus could be paid out of the revenue received in the first quarter of the next year, even if the revenue of the last quarter of the preceding year was thrown away. But this was a thing which could not be done at once. You might rely upon the first quarter, but you could not upon the second, third, and fourth. There would not be a dollar in the Treasury at the end of four years if you deducted a quarter's amount four times successively. It was a case, if a homely adage might be allowed, which would well apply—you could not eat the cake and have it too. Mr. B. submitted it then to the Senate, that on the first point of objection to the Report, his issue was maintained. There was no such surplus of nine millions a year for eight years, as had been assumed; nor any thing near it; and this assumption being the corner stone of the whole edifice of the scheme of distribution, it was sufficient to show the fallacy of these data to blow the whole scheme into the empty air.

Mr. B. admonished the Senate to beware of ridicule. To pass a solemn vote for amending the Constitution, for the purpose of enabling Congress to make distribution of surpluses of revenue, and then find no surplus to distribute, might lessen the dignity, and diminish the weight of so grave a body. It might expose it to ridicule; and that was a hard thing for public bodies, and public men, to stand. The Senate had stood much in its time; much in the latter part of Mr. Monroe's administration, when the Washington Republican habitually denounced it is a faction, and displayed many brilliant essays, written by no mean hand, to prove that the epithet was well applied, though applied to a majority. It had stood much also, during the four years or the second Mr. Adam's administration; as the surviving pages of the defunct National Journal could still attest; but in all that time it stood clear of ridicule; it did nothing upon which a saucy wit could lay its

*The

lash. Let it beware now! for the passage of this amendment may expose it to untried peril; the peril of song and caricature. And wo to the Senate, farewell to its dignity, if it once gets into the windows of the print-shop, and become the burthen of the ballads which the milk maids sing to their cows.

2. Mr. B. took up his second head of objection. The report affirmed that there was no way to reduce the revenue before the end of the year 1842, without violating the terms of the compromise act of March 1833. Mr. B. said he had opposed that act when it was on its passage, and had then stated his objections to it. It was certainly an extraordinary act, a sort of new constitution for nine years, as he had heard it felicitously called. It was made in an unusual manner, not precisely by three men on an island on the coast of Italy, but by two in some room of a boarding house in this city, and then pushed through Congress under a press of sail, and a duress of feeling, under the factitious cry of dissolution of the Union raised by those who had been declaring, on one hand, that the tariff could not be reduced without dissolving the Union, and on the other, that it could not be kept up without dissolving the same Union. The value of all such cries, Mr. B. said, would be appreciated in future, when it was seen with how much facility certain persons who had stood under the opposite poles of the earth, as it were, on the subject of the tariff, had come together to compromise their opinions, and to lay the Tariff on the shelf for nine years! a period which covered two presidential elections! That act was no favorite of his, but he would let it alone; and thus leaving it to work out its design for nine years, he would say there were ways to reduce the revenue, very sensibly, without affecting the terms, or the spirit of that act. And here he would speak upon *data*. He had the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Woodbury) to declare that he believed he could reduce the revenue in this way, and upon imports, to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars; and he, Mr. B. should submit a resolution* calling upon the Secretary to furnish the detail of this reduction to the Senate at the commencement of their next stated session, that Congress might act upon it. Further Mr. B. would say that it appeared to him that the whole list of articles in the fifth section of the act, amounting to thirty or forty in number, and which by that section are to be free of duty in 1842, and which in his opinion might be made free this day, and that not only without injury to the manufactures, but with such manifest advantages to them, that as an equivalent for it, and for the sake of obtaining it, they ought to come forward themselves, and make a voluntary concession of reduction on some other points, especially on some classes of woollen goods.

Having given Mr. Woodbury's authority for a reduction of \$500,000 on imports, Mr. B. would show another source from which a much larger reduction could be made, and that without affecting this famous act of March, 1833, in another, and a different quarter; it was in the Western quarter; the new States, the PUBLIC LANDS! The act of 1833 did not embrace this source of revenue, and Congress was free to act upon it, and to give the same relief on the purchase of the article on which they chiefly paid revenue, it had done to the old States in the reduction of the Tariff. Mr. B. did not go into the worn out and exploded objections to the reduction of the price of the lands which the Report had gathered up from their old sleeping places, and presented again to the Senate. Speculators, monopolies, the fall in the price of real estate all over the Union; these were exploded fallacies which he was sorry to see paraded here again, and which he should not detain the Senate to answer. Suffice it to say, that there is no application made now, made heretofore, or intended to be made, so far as he knew, to reduce the price of NEW LAND! One dollar and a quarter was low enough for the first choice of new lands; but it was not low enough for the second, third, fourth, and fifth choices! It was not low enough for the refuse lands which had been five, ten, twenty, forty years in market; and which could find no purchaser at \$1.25, for the solid reason that they were worth but the half, the quarter, the tenth part of that sum. It was for such lands that reduction of price was sought, and had been sought for many years, and would continue to be sought until it was obtained; for it was impossible to believe that Congress would persevere in the flagrant injustice of forever refusing to reduce the price of refuse and unsaleable lands to their actual value. The policy of President Jackson communicated in his messages, Mr. B. said, was the policy of wisdom and justice. He was for disposing of the lands more for the purpose of promoting settlements, and creating freeholders, than for the purpose of exacting revenue from the meritorious class of citizens who cultivate the soil. He would sell the lands at prices which would pay expenses,—the expense of acquiring them from the Indians, and surveying and selling them,—and this system of moderate prices with donations, or nominal sales to ac-

* The resolution was submitted.

tual settlers would do justice to the new States and effect a sensible reduction in the revenue; enough to prevent the necessity of amending the constitution to get rid of nine million surpluses! But whether the price of lands was reduced or not, Mr. B. said, the revenue from that source would soon be diminished. The revenue had been exorbitant from the sale of lands for three or four years past. And why, precisely because immense bodies of new lands, and much of it in the States adapted to the production of the great staples which now bear so high a price, have, within that period, come into market; but these fresh lands must soon be exhausted; the old and refuse only will remain for sale; and the revenue from that source will sink down to its former usual amount, instead of remaining at three millions a year for nine years, as the Report assumes.

3. When he had thus shown that a diminution of revenue could be effected both on imports, and on refuse and unsaleable lands, Mr. B. took up the third issue which he had joined with the report; namely, the possibility of finding an object of general utility on which the surpluses could be expended. The Report affirmed there was no such object, he, on the contrary, affirmed that there were such, not one, but several, not only useful, but necessary, not merely necessary, but exigent, not exigent only, but in the highest possible degree indispensable and essential. He alluded to the whole class of measures connected with the general and permanent defence of the Union!—In peace, prepare for war! is the admonition of wisdom in all ages and in all nations; and sorely and grievously has our America heretofore paid for the neglect of that admonition. She has paid for it in blood, in money, and in shame. Are we prepared now? And is there any reason why we should not prepare now? Look at your maritime coast from Passamaquoddy Bay to Florida Point: your gulf coast from Florida Point to the Sabine; your lake frontier, in its whole extent! What is the picture? Almost destitute of forts, and it might be said, quite destitute of armament. Look at your armories and arsenals,—too few, and too empty,—and the west almost destitute! Look at your militia; many of them mustering with corn stalks; the State deficient in arms, especially in field artillery, and in swords and pistols for their cavalry! Look at our navy; slowly increasing under an annual appropriation of half a million a year, instead of a whole million, at which it was fixed soon after the late war, and from which it was reduced some years ago, when money ran low in the Treasury! Look at your dock-yards and navy-yards; thinly dotted along the maritime coast, and hardly seen at all on the gulf coast, where the whole south, and the great west, so imperiously demands naval protection!—Such is the picture; such the state of our country; such its state at this time, when even the most unobservant should see something to make us think of defence! such is the state of our defences now, with which, O! strange and wonderful contradiction! the administration is now taunted, reproached, reviled, flouted and taunted by those who go for distribution, and turn their backs on defence! and who complain of the President for leaving us in this condition, when five years ago, in the year 1829, he recommended the annual sum of \$250,000 for arming the fortifications, (which Congress refused to give,) and who now are for taking the money out of the Treasury, to be divided among the people, instead of turning it all to the great object of the general and permanent defence of the Union, for which they were so solicitous, so clamorous, so feelingly alive, and patriotically sensitive, even one short month ago.

Does not the present state of the country, said Mr. B., call for defence, and is not this a propitious time for putting it in defence, and will not that object absorb every dollar of real surplus that can be found in the treasury for these eight years of plenty during which we are to be afflicted with seventy-two millions of surplus! Let us see. Let us take one single branch of the general system of defence, and see how it stands, and what it would cost to put it in the condition which the safety and the honor of the country demanded. He spoke of the fortifications, and selected that branch because he had *data* to go upon; *data* to which the Senator from South Carolina, the author of this Report, could not object.

The design, said Mr. B., of fortifying the coasts of the United States, is as old as the Union itself. Our documents are full of executive recommendations, departmental reports of committees, upon this subject, all urging this great object upon the attention of Congress. From 1789, through every succeeding administration, the subject was presented to Congress; but it was only after the late war, and when the evils of a defenceless coast were fresh before the eyes of the people, that the subject was presented in the most impressive, persevering, and systematic form. An engineer of the first rank (Gen. Bernard) was taken into our service from the school of the great Napoleon. A resolution of the House of Representatives called on the War Department for a plan of defence, and a designation of forts, adequate to the protection of the country; and upon this call, examinations were made, estimates framed, and forts projected, for the whole mari-

time coast, from Savannah to Boston. The result was the presentation, in 1821, of a plan for ninety forts upon that part of the coast; namely, 24 of the first class; 23 of the second; and 43 of the third. Under the administration of Mr. Monroe, and the urgent recommendations of the then head of the War Department, (Mr. Calhoun,) the construction of these forts was commenced, and pushed with spirit and activity; but owing to circumstances, not necessary now to be detailed, the object declined in the public favor, lost a part of its popularity, perhaps justly, and has since proceeded so slowly that, at the end of twenty years from the late war, no more than thirteen of these forts have been constructed; namely, 8 of the first class; 3 of the second; and 2 of the third; and of these thirteen constructed, none are armed; almost all of them are without guns or carriages, and more ready for the occupation of an enemy than for the defence of ourselves. This is the state of fortifications on the maritime coast, exclusive of the New England coast to the North of Boston, exclusive of Cape Cod, South of Boston, and exclusive of the Atlantic coast of Florida. The Lake frontier is untouched. The Gulf frontier, almost two thousand miles in length, barely is dotted with a few forts in the neighbourhood of Pensacola, New Orleans, and Mobile; all the rest of the coast may be set down as naked and defenceless. This was our condition. Now Mr. B. did not venture to give an opinion that the whole plan of fortifications developed in the Reports of 1821, should be carried into effect; but he would say, and that most confidently, that much of it ought to be; and it would be the business of Congress to decide on each fort in making a specific appropriation for it. He would also say, that many forts would be found to be necessary which were not embraced in that plan; for it did not touch the lake coast and the gulf coast, nor the New England coast North of Boston, nor any point of the land frontier. Without going into the question at all of how many were necessary, or where they should be placed, it was sufficient to show that there were enough wanting, beyond dispute, to constitute an object of utility, worthy of the national expenditure, and sufficient to absorb, not nine millions of annual surplus, to be sure, but about as many millions of surplus, as would ever be found, and the Bank stock into the bargain. The thirteen forts constructed, had cost \$12,113,000; near one million of dollars each. But this was for construction only; the armament was still to follow; and for this object \$2,000,000 were estimated in 1821 for the ninety forts then recommended, and of that two millions it may be assumed that but little has been granted by Congress. So much for fortifications; in itself a single branch of defence, and sufficient to absorb many millions.

But there were many other branches of defence which Mr. B. would barely enumerate. There was the Navy, including its gradual increase, its dock-yards, and navy yards; then the armories and arsenals, which were so much wanted in the South and West, and especially in the South, for a reason, (besides those which apply to foreign enemies,) which need not be named; then the supply of arms to the States, especially field artillery, swords and pistols, for which an annual, but inadequate appropriation had been made for so long a time, that he believed the States had almost forgot the subject. Here are objects enough, Mr. President, exclaimed Mr. B. to absorb every dollar of our surplus, and the Bank stock besides. The surpluses he was certain, would be wholly insufficient, and the Bank stock, by a solemn resolution of the two Houses of Congress, should be devoted to the object.—As a fund was set apart, and held sacred and inviolable, for the payment of the public debt, so should a fund be now created for national defence, and this Bank stock should be the first and most sacred item put into it. It is the only way to save that stock from becoming the prey of incessant contrivances to draw money from the Treasury. Mr. B. said that he intended to submit the resolutions, requesting the President to cause to be communicated to the next Congress full information upon all the points that he had touched, the probable revenue and expenditure for the next eight years; the plan, and expense of fortifying the coast; the navy, and every other point connected with the general and permanent defence of the Union, with a view to let Congress take it up, upon system, and with a design to complete it without further delay.* And he demanded, why hurry on this amendment before that information can come in!

Now is the auspicious moment, said Mr. B., for the Republic to rouse from the apathy into which it has lately sunk upon the

* The resolutions, embracing twelve heads of inquiry, have been submitted. They are the following:

Resolved, That the President be requested to cause information to be laid before the Senate at the commencement of the next session of Congress, on the following points:

1. The amount of revenue which may be reduced on dutiable articles, without affecting the protection intended to be continued by the act of March 24, 1833, to domestic manufactures.

subject of national defence. The public debt is paid; a sum of six or seven millions will come from the Bank; some surpluses may occur: let the national defence become the next great object, after the payment of the debt, and all spare money to go to that purpose. If further stimulus were wanted, it might be found in the present aspect of our foreign affairs, and in the reproaches, the taunts, and in the offensive insinuations which certain gentlemen have been indulging in for two months with respect to the defenceless state of the coast! and which they attribute to the negligence of the administration. Certainly such gentlemen will not take that money for distribution, for the immediate application of which their defenceless country is now crying aloud, and stretching forth her imploring hands.

Mr. B. would here avail himself of a voice more potential than his own to enforce attention to the great project of national defence, the revival of which he was now attempting. It was a voice which the Senator from South Carolina, the author of this proposition, to squander in distributions the funds which should be sacred to defence, would instantly recognise. It was an extract from a message communicated to Congress, Dec. 3d, 1822 by President Monroe. Whether considered under the relation of similarity which it bears to the language and sentiments of contemporaneous Reports from the then head of the War Department, the position which the writer of those Reports then held in relation to President Monroe, the right which he possessed, as Secretary at War, to know, at least, what was put into the message in relation to measures connected with this Department;—considered under any, and all of these aspects, the extracts which he was about to read, might be considered as expressing the sentiments, if not speaking the words, of the gentleman who now sees no object of utility in providing for the defence of his country, and who then pleaded the cause of that defence with so much truth and energy, and with such commendable excess of patriotic zeal.

2. The amount of revenue which will probably be received from customs from 1836 to 1842, inclusively.

3. The amount of revenue which will probably be received from public lands for the same period, if no change takes place in the price of the lands.

4. The amount of revenue from the same source, if the price of the refuse lands should be reduced, and the land should be so disposed of as to promote the settlement of the country, and should cease to be a source of revenue, except to defray the expense of their management, and of extinguishing the Indian titles.

5. The times and proportions in which the amount of stock held in the Bank of the United States will probably be returned to the Treasury, if no act is passed by Congress for the sale of said stock.

6. The probable amount of the expenditures of the Government annually, to the end of the year 1842.

7. The state of the fortifications, so as to show the number of forts of the first, second, and third classes, now constructed in the United States; the number heretofore proposed and recommended by the War Department, but not yet constructed, and the number which would probably be necessary to the complete and adequate defence of the lake, maritime, and gulf frontiers of the United States, and such points of the land frontier as may be believed to require permanent fortifications.

8. The amount expended, since 1816, in constructing forts, and the amount that would be necessary to complete the construction of the entire system of permanent fortifications for the United States.

9. The amount which has been expended since 1816, in providing for the fortifications, and the amount which would probably, necessary to complete the armament of all fortifications required for the defence of the United States.

10. The amount which would probably be necessary to construct an adequate number of armories and arsenals in the United States, and to supply the States with field artillery—especially brass pieces—for their militia, and with side arms and pistols for their cavalry.

11. The amount expended, since 1816, in the gradual increase of the navy, on navy yards and dock yards, and the amount necessary to be expended on each of these objects, to place the naval defence of the United States, upon the footing of strength and respectability which is due to the security and the welfare of the Union.

12. And that the President be requested to cause to be communicated to the Senate, at the same time, any other information connected with the revenue and expenditure of the government, and with the defence of the Union, which shall come within the scope of the foregoing inquiries, or which in his judgment shall be necessary to be communicated.

Mr. B. then read as follows:

"Should war break out in any of those countries, (the European,) who can foretell the extent to which it may be carried, or the desolation which may spread? Exempt as we are from these causes, (of European civil wars,) our internal tranquillity is secure; and distant as we are from the troubled scene, and faithful to just principles, in regard to others Powers, we might reasonably presume that we should not be molested by them. This however, ought not to be calculated as certain. Unprovoked injuries are often inflicted, and even the peculiar felicity of our situation might, with some, be a cause for excitement and aggression. The history of the late wars in Europe furnishes a complete demonstration that no system of conduct, however correct in principle, can protect neutral Powers from injury from any party; that a DEFENCELESS POSITION and distinguished love of peace, are the surest invitations to war; and that there is no way to avoid it, other than by being always PREPARED, and willing, for just cause, to meet it.—If there be no people on earth, whose more especial duty it is to be, AT ALL TIMES, prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary BURTHENS, and in submitting to SACRIFICES to make such PREPARATIONS, it is undoubtedly the People of these States."

Mr. B. having read thus far, stopped to make a remark, and but a remark, upon a single sentiment in it. He would not weaken the force and energy of the whole passage by going over it in detail; but he invoked attention upon the last sentiment,—our peculiar duty, so strongly painted, to sustain burthens, and submit to sacrifices, to accomplish the noble object of putting our country into an attitude of defence!—The ease with which we can prepare for the same defence now by the facile operation of applying to that purpose surpluses of revenue and bank stock, for which we have no other use, was the point on which he would invoke and arrest the Senate's attention.

Mr. B. resumed his reading, and read the next paragraph which enumerated all the causes which might lead to general war in Europe, and our involvement in it, and concluded with the declaration, "*That the reasons for pushing forward all our measures of defence, with the utmost vigor, appear to me to acquire new force.*" And then added, these causes for European war are now in as great force as then; the danger of our involvement is more apparent now than then; the reasons for sensibility to our national honor are nearer now than then; and upon all the principles of the passage from which he was reading, the reasons for pushing forward all our measures of defence with the utmost vigor, possessed far more force in this present year 1835, than they did in the year 1822.

Mr. B. continued to read:

"The United States owe to the world a great example, and, by means thereof, to the cause of liberty and humanity a generous support. They have so far succeeded, to the satisfaction of the virtuous and enlightened of every country. There is no reason to doubt, that their whole movement will be regulated by a sacred regard to principle, all our institutions being founded on that basis. The ability to support our own cause, under any trial to which it may be exposed, is the great point on which the public solicitude rests. It has often been charged against free governments, that they have neither the foresight, nor the virtue, to provide at the proper season, for great emergencies; and their course is improvident and expensive; that war will always find them unprepared, and whatever may be its calamities, that its terrible warnings will be disregarded and forgotten as soon as peace returns. I have full confidence that this charge, so far as it relates to the United States, will be shown to be utterly destitute of truth."

Mr. B., as he closed the book, said, he would make a few remarks upon some of the points in this passage which he had last read. The reproach so often charged upon free governments for want of foresight and virtue,—their improvidence and expensiveness—their proneness to disregard and forget in peace the warning lessons of the most terrible calamities of war. And he would take the liberty to suggest that, of all the mortal beings now alive upon this earth, the author of the Report under discussion, ought to be the last to disregard, and to forget, the solemn and impressive admonition which the passage conveyed! the last so to act as to subject his Government to the mortifying charges which have been so often cast upon them! the last to subject the VIRTUE of the people to the humiliating trial of deciding between the defence and the plunder of their country.

Mr. B. dwelt a moment on another point in the passage which he had read—the great example which this Republic owed to the world, and to the cause of free governments, to prove itself capable of supporting its cause under every trial; and that by providing in peace for the dangers of war. It was a striking point in that passage, and presented a grand and philosophic conception

to the reflecting mind. The example to be shown to the world, and the duty of this Republic to exhibit it, was an elevated and patriotic conception, and worthy of the genius which then presided over the War Department. But what is the example which we are now required to exhibit? It is that of a people preferring the spoils of their country to its defence; it is that of the electioneer, going from city to city, from house to house, even to the uniformed tenant of the distant hamlet, who has no means of detecting the fallacies which are brought from afar, to deceive his understanding;—it is the example of this electioneer, with slate and pencil in his hand, (and here Mr. B. took up an old book cover, and a pencil, and stooped over it to make figures as if working out a little sum in arithmetic,)—it is the example of this electioneer, offering for distribution that money which should be sacred to the defence of his country, and pointing out for overthrow, at the next election, every candidate for office who should be found in opposition to this wretched, and deceptive scheme of distribution. This is the example which it is proposed that we should now exhibit. And little did it enter into his (Mr. B.'s) imagination, about the time that message was written, that it should fall to his lot to plead for the defence of his country against the author of this Report. He admired the grandeur of conception which the Reports of the War Office then displayed. He said he differed from the party with whom he then acted, in giving a general, though not a universal support to the Secretary of War. He looked to him as one who, when mellowed by age, and chastened by experience, might be among the most admired Presidents that ever filled the Presidential chair. (Mr. B. by a *lapsus lingue*, said throne, but corrected the expression on its echo from the galleries.)

Mr. B. said there was an example which it was worthy to imitate; that of France; her coast defended by forts and batteries, behind which the rich city reposed in safety,—the tranquil peasant cultivated his vine in security,—while the proud navy of England sailed innoxious before them; a spectacle of amusement not an object of terror. And there was an example to be avoided; the case of our own America during the late war; when the approach of a British squadron, upon any point of our extended coast, was the signal for flight, for terror, for consternation; when the hearts of the brave, and the almost naked hands of the heroes, were the sole reliance for defence; and where those hearts, and those hands could not come, the sacred soil of our country was invaded; the ruffian soldier, and the rude sailor, became the insolent masters of our citizens' houses; their footsteps marked by the desolation of fields, the conflagration of cities, the flight of virgins, the violation of matrons! the blood of fathers, husbands, sons. This is the example which we should avoid.

But the amendment is to be temporary. It is only to last till 1842. What an idea! a temporary alteration in a constitution made for endless ages. But, let no one think it will be temporary, if once adopted. No! If the People will come to taste that blood; if they once bring themselves to the acceptance of money from the Treasury, they are gone forever. They will take that money in all time to come; and he that promises most, receives most votes. The corruption of the Romans, the debauchment of the voters, the venality of elections, commenced with the Tribunitary distribution of corn out of the public granaries; it advanced to the distribution of the spoils of foreign nations, brought home to Rome, by victorious generals, and divided out among the People; it ended in bringing the spoils of the country into the canvas for the consulship; and in putting up the diadem of empire itself to be knocked down by the hammer of the auctioneer. In our America there can be no spoils of conquered nations to distribute. Her own treasury,—her own lands,—can alone furnish the fund. Begin it once, no matter how, or upon what surplus revenue, the proceeds of the lands, or the lands themselves; no matter; the progress and the issue of the whole game, is as inevitable as it is obvious! Candidates bid, the voters listen, and a plundered and pillaged country,—the empty skin of an immolated victim,—is the prize, and the spoil, of the last, and the highest bidder.

THE TRIAL OF LAWRENCE Commenced at 9½ o'clock on Saturday morning, and lasted until 6 o'clock, P. M. Mr. Key made a speech of fifteen or twenty minutes; the balance of the day was consumed in examining witnesses, principally as to the sanity of the prisoner. The jury returned at 6 P. M., and returned the following verdict in about ten minutes: "Not guilty; being of the opinion that he was under the influence of insanity at the time the act was committed." The Court then remanded the prisoner to jail. We will publish the whole trial as soon as it can be prepared.—*Globe*.